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WASHINGTON, JUNE 23, 1850. ICOPY-RIGHT SECURED.]

THE MOTHER-IN-LAW. A STORY OF THE ISLAND ESTATE.

BY MRS. EMMA D. E. SOUTHWORTH.

BOOK THIRD.

IV. LITTLE BRIGHTY. An airy, pleasant chamber, with the rose vines

Woven around the casement .- Miss Mitford. A youthful mother to her infant smiling, Who with spread arms and dancing feet, And cooing voice, returns an answer sweet.

I am about to take you into a pleasant room and into pleasant company. If there was one room more delightful than all the others at the Isle of Rays, it was Brighty's summer room. It was on the ground floor, and opened in front by glass doors upon the piazza, and at the back by similar doors into the garden of roses; in fact, was the room on the left corresponding to the pleasant breakfast room the garage of roses running the whole length of the back of the house. Brighty had chosen this room for her midsummer boudoir, for the sake of her two passions-the music of birds, and the fragrance of flowers, borne upon the summer breeze into the chamber. These could not be had in an up-stairs room, for Brighty could not delight in the songs of birds imprisoned in cages, or the perfume of flowers dying in vases. To give her pleasure, there must be freedom and gladness in the bird, and life and freshness in the breath of the flowers. Brighty said she would always feel a quaver of sadness in the merriest trills of a caged bird, and a scent of faintness in the richest odor of a plucked flower. But perhaps Brighty was fanciful-which, as mistress of the Isle of Rays, and as the darling wife and spoiled child of General Stuart-Gordon, she had a right to be. Well! this summer room, with its vine-shaded piazza in front, and its garden at back, and the cheery trill of birds and the dewy fragrance of flowers wafted through it-this beautiful room! with the carpet on the floor, and the paper on the walls, both of the same pattern, namely, a white ground with red roses running over it, with its white muslin over pink curtains, with its lounge and chair

position and her personal accomplishments, Mrs. General Stuart-Gordon became the leader of the ton in the county. The Isle of Rays became the seat of elegant hospitality. And never had the black satin vest of the stout General required greater breadth for expansion of the chest, than when seated at the foot of his own table, doing the honors of a dinner party, at which his young and beautiful wife presided with equal dignity

I assure you. Yes, I am afraid, above everything else, until one fine summer's morning, while the sun was shining and the dew glistening-while the flowers were blooming and the birds singing-little Brighty arrived, and Britannia had a reve lation of another heaven than that of marble pal aces, silver plate, and priceless jewels; and the gates through which that heaven was visible were the azure gauze curtains of a rosewood crib. You know that Britannia, even in her cold, polished girlhood, while eschewing love with youthful soorn, admitted that she did love whom she pitied or protected-judge, therefore, how she loved this

bright new claimant for her pity and protection "And I am very glad she is a little girl," thought Britannia; "because this dear General has a son already : besides which, he has such a partiality for girls of all ages, from infancy to old maiden-

So the General had-especially since his tw Brighties-his damask rose and bud-had rejuvenated him. So the General had-a grandfather ly fondness for baby girls, a fatherly fondness for young girls, and a brotherly fondness for old girls. Oh! it was no wonder the General required such a very large black satin vest-he had such a large heart under it. And as for the girls-babies, maidens, and spinsters-they all loved the General, as kittens love hearth warmth

But the fifteenth of July, in the rose-colored rose-scented summer room at the Isle of Rays were assembled Britannia, Susan Somerville, Ger trude, and Zoe. Miss Somerville, at the earnes and repeated solicitation of General and Mrs Stuart-Gordon, had been persuaded to spend some weeks of the midsummer at the Isle of Rays Zoe was engaged to assist in making up an infinite number of summer garments there, and Gertrude, being for the time deprived of visiting the Crags or the Dovecote, favored the Isle of Rays

the rose-figured carpet, contending for the favor of-whom? a little, wilful, bright-eyed sprite of four months old, who would go to one, and wouldn't go to another, just as its capricious will dictated Britannia was passing in and out, engaged in some pleasant household duty, assumed more from choice than necessity. The General was walking about the room, riding-whip and hat in hand, now pausing to smile at the group around the babe, now jestingly wishing that he had magic chair in which to enchant Britannia, so that she should not make him nervous by fidgeting about so; in fine, quite unable to take him self away from the charming room and its lovely

Seraphina-or Serry, as the girls called herbearing a basket of plums, peaches, and grapes, and now the General laid down his riding-whip and hat, and drew off his gloves, calling through the vine-shaded window to Apollo, who stood be-fore the door with two horses saddled, one for his ter, and one for himself, to put up the horses late and getting warm. And then the General threw himself upon one of the settees, and Brighty turned sharply round, and, smiling gayly, hasped his rough chin in her hand, by way of a welcome; and Zoe, bounding up, ran up s, and returned with his blue and white dressing gown, and his sheep-skin slippers, sen she took his coat and gaiters, and certhe ripest gropes for the baby, which she held spon her lap, while the others ate fruit. Little

Brighty, carefully peeling ripe grapes for her, until old Serry had carried away the basket and

Serry went up to Zoe, and saying, "Gim me de chile, Miss Zoe," took the little one away, and sat down with her near the window.

the General.

"I hab," said Serry, putting in her word with the freedom of an old Virginia domestic, "I hab seen Marse Louis dis mornin.' You see, Miss Drertrude, Marse Louis, he never let me put Miss Louise's rooms to rights—never. Won't let me 'sturb a single thing no more an nothin' at all. Dat room is a scan'lous sight! Dere's Miss Louise's workstan' jee' as she done left it—drawers all out, things all strowed all over de top, and even so much as her needle a stickin' in her sowin', jee' as she got up an' left it de day she went home wid her ma. Oh! my blessed Heavenly Marser, don't I pray for dat 'oman's 'version—three times down on 'my knees every day, reg'lar as the day comes. 'Taint no use dough—not a single bit. I goin' to stop of it; I goin' to stop of it; I goin' to stop a botherin' my Heavenly Marser about her, 'cause you see, Miss Drertrude, and young ladies, it aint no sort o' use. Marser can't do nothing 't all wid her; he done let her

Oh, yes-where is Louis?" asked Zoe. "Well, I gwine tell you. I see Miss Louise's rooms open, an' I thinks now I take dis chance, and go in dere and clean up. Bless you, I aint done gone in dere more an' a year, so I gone in, an', as I tell you, dere work all strow over floor, an', as I tell you, dere work all strow over floor, dere wreaf of roses hung over de glass all done gone, 'cept the stems and de string, an' leaves all dry as powder all strow over de toilet cloff—an' Mies Leuise's loose wrapper, all lying over de twide ob de bed, all white, wa his ouris tangled, and his face on de wrapper, and his arms stretched up over it. So I jes' looks in, an' I saw dat, an' I jes' pulls de door too softly, an' Dere! dere's where he been all day a takin of it.

Miss Louise's room. Now he done, lock it up agin, and gone away. Ah, Lord, I like to see the 'oman as would part me from my ole Apple. Dere! son, a Prince of Wales might disinherit the 'oman as would part me from the forgot debaby! Princess Royal. Zounds, sir! this girl has a six of the levity of a mistress. dere! dere! dere! its Aunty aint forgot de baby! its Aunty will peel another peach for de baby bunton." And the old lady gave her attention to

tioned Gertrude of Britannia.
"Never. We have discovered that they are living at New Orleans, in great splendor; that they are very much in society, and give large parties"—

" Does Louis never write ?" " Never. All his first letters seemed droppe into a bottomless well, for any response they called forth"—

"Nothing will be done with Mrs. Armstron until I take her in hand, and I shall do it eventually," said Gertrude, with a determined look. "There is no particular hurry. Louis and Louise are young enough yet—dear me, yes! Louis is but twenty, and Louise but eighteen. Bide a bit,

"Ah, Lor'! I wonders, I does, of she nebbe over pink curtains, with its lounge and chair covers of fine pink and white Marseilles quiltwork—this cheerful room, with its bevy of gay girls gathered around one leaping, crowing, laugh—the large of the Lord, who can say to him, 'Lord,'

wonder she don't think ob dat. I wonder she aint aftered to injure a youth as has a mother standin' in de presence ob de Lord, night and day. Goodness! here comes marsa Louis now!" exclaimed the old woman, as herse's feet elattered up to the door; and Louis, throwing himself from the saddle, hurried, pale and agitated, into the room.

All were struck with surprise and dismay at his extreme perturbation. He sank into a chair, grasping in his hand a paper. Susan Somerville poured out a glass of water, and handed him; he drank it—pressed the kind hand that offered it, drank it—pressed the kind hand that offered it, as he thanked her with his eyes. Then turning to his father, he said, "I wish to speak with you, sir;" and, rising, he left the room.

General Stuart-Gordon followed.

There, sir," said Louis, "there are the hopof a life destroyed."

And he laid the Virginian Republican upon the

Stuart-Gordon; which was read, and laid upo

"Upon what pretence could this have been claimed — upon what trumped-up story — what

out into ghostly relief by the black leather of its covering and the black cloth of his dress; and his

General Stuart-Gordon looked at him for some moments in silence. Then he said—
"You are a Stuart, Louis—a genuine Stuart. It is curious to observe in you the very same traits of character, with the same cast of features, that ruined your ancestors—the same tenderness of heart, the same infirmity of purpose, the same

"Listen to me now, Louis. I think I am rather healthier in mind and body than yourself. I will volunteer my counsel; you will accept it or not, as you see fit. First, then, you know, or course, that Louise can never obtain a divorce, however much she may wish it, since nothing can be brought against you—since she herself is the faithless party, while you are guiltless towards her. It is only the blameless and the injured party with whom remains the privilege of divorcing; and certainly in justice it should be so. Therefore, no power on earth can free Louise from Therefore, no power on earth can free Louise from her matrimonial bondage, but your own. Are

"Of what avail were that, sir? They take n

Zoe had always a need of some one to worship and wait on, and since the death of her adopt-ed father, and the estrangement of Louis, she had attached herself, lichen-like, to Britannia and the General. Zoe sat there with little

"Where is Louis?" asked Gertrude, paring her peach, "I never see anything of him lately."
"I have not seen him since breakfast," replied

can't do nothing 't all wid her; he done let her alone; he done gib her right up to de debbil!"
"But where is Louis, Aunty?" reminded

I saw dat, an' I jes' pulls de door too softly, an' comes away... I was hurted to the heart...and soon after I sees him get on his horse and ride away. Dere! dere's where he been all day a takin' on in

her little charge.
"But do you never hear from Louise?" ques-

table between them, pointing out a paragraph. It was under the head of "Proceedings of the Legislature," and was as follows:

"Hon. J. C. La Compte, from the of the Judiciary, reported a bill for the divorce of Louis Stuart-Gordon from his wife, Louise H. A.

perjury!"

of-of-Louise, in this. I only feel that I have grossly deceived myself in my estimate of that young lady."
"Exactly! Precisely! Compare her with Mia

Somerville, Zoe, Gertrude—with my own queenly lady—with any right-minded, right-headed girl or woman—and then judge her."

Louis was very pale and thin, and he seemed drooping with a general lassitude as he leaned back in the high-backed chair, his paleness thrown the grant lassitude with the paleness thrown

very voice, when he spoke, seemed faint and broken, from physical debility or mental despair General Stuart-Gordon looked at him for some

infatuated attachment to the one object of idola try, whatever that may be. Oh! Louis, be man-rouse yourself. Zounds, boy! it is a very lackadaisical thing to pine away and die of a broken heart for any woman, even your fugitive

his bosom, a general sinking, that made it difficult to sustain his part of the conversation. "Listen to me now, Louis. I think I am rather

"Yes, sir, I listen."
"My advice to you, then, is, to write to Lou-

notice of my letters. I do not know that they even open and read them."

"Ah! you may be very sure that Mrs. Arm-

eral odium or approbation, or individual happiness or misery. Marriage is the most sacred tie on earth. The peace of families, the social welfare of the whole community, depend upon its being held so. If Louise and myself have contract-

and bear the penalty. Better that individuals should suffer, than that the general tone of moral sentiment should be lowered. Oh! observe, sir! in modern times, in Christian countries, divorces were so rare as to be almost unheard of, until two men in the power of place set a very haleful exwere so rare as to be almost unheard of, until two
men in the power of place set a very baleful example, that spread like a slow pestilence over
their respective countries. Since the divorce of
the Empress Josephine by Napoleon, and that of
Queen Caroline by George III, divorces have become far more common. I trace it to the influence of that high example! My father, we excountry an influence quite as strong.

"Louis! nonsense! The little one is in the hands of her mother and grandmother, who it is to be presumed love her fondly. She is sure of the best education that wealth can procure for her, and will be, besides, the heiress of a large fortune. And, Louis, more than all, by the time you are thirty-five or six years, when you will be still young, though not youthful, she, your daughter, will be grown, and most probably mar-ried and settled in life. Mrs. Armstrong is a great hand at early marriages, as you know to your cost—and you at thirty-six will find your-self unsettled as now, Louis! No weakness, if you have any regard for me. Observe! you mar-ried this child of sixteen, lived with her for five

mother, and took away her child to a distant city, and has absented herself for nearly two years, remaining was a solution of the your control family, even by letter. Poop! pooh! Your marrisge was a farce!"
"Not so, sir!" said Louis, with a sort of bitter mile, since we have a daughter who is heiress to two immense estates that comprise more than one-half of —— county, and are valued at nearly

abandoned you with the levity of a m Treat the case even so. Divorce her; settle property on her; and forget her—as a paid-off mis

The pallid brow of Louis Stuart-Gordon flush ed to crimson, as he replied—
"Enough, sir! I will not. The honor of my wife and daughter are dearer to me than my own;" and, lifting his hat from the table, he bow-

"I wonder if I could not get a writ of lunacy out against that young gentleman!" exclaimed General Stuart-Gordon, testily, as he arose to re

join the ladies.

A month passed away—a month during which nothing more was heard of the Mont Crystal family. Then General Stuart-Gordon, accompanied by all his family and Miss Somerville, went to spend August and September at the sea shore. They returned to the Isle of Rays about the middle of October.

splendid bouquet, set in the clear waters.

The family returned in renewed life to their gorgeous home. Even Louis, by the healthful ministrations of nature and the soothing companionship of his good angel, Susan, was visibly improved in health and spirits.

It was late in the afternoon of a glorious day, just cool enough to make the prospect of home, a blazing fire, and a warm supper, highly inviting; and twilight was gathering duskily on, giving the neighborhood a sweet, dim, mysterious obscurity; and the wind was rising in the northwest, with that shrill, hellow blast so pleasant to hear in the that shrill, hollow blast so pleasant to hear in the early winter, when one has a snug fireside, and

early winter, when one has a snug fireside, and new warm-hued autumn dresses, waiting to be enjoyed—when the large family carriage stopped before the portico at the Island mansion.

Lights were glowing through the crimson-curtained windows of the drawing-room; and as the carriage approached, a perfect flood of radiance poured from the hall doors, that were flung wide open by Gertrude Lion, who bounded out to welcome the new comers, as they descended from the carriage. She caught Britannia in her arms first.

"Oh! Brighty, you are so handsome! your cheek is like a carnation rose! And you too, Susan! you are blooming like a peach blossom! And Louis!" roared the amazon, breaking into a loud laugh, "I vow and declare — how Louis does grow! if he is not almost a man! And you, General!" exclaimed she, starting back and clap-ping her hands—"you, General! drums and fifes! ping her hands—"you, General! drums and fifes steeds and spurs! how grand! how sublime! how heavy and pompous you look! Oh! General Stuart-Gordon, shake hands with me, that I may natch some of the glorification, as school children

here General Stuart-Gordon interrupted her, by starting forward and offering a warm response to this sancy salutation. But the beautiful giant-ess arrested him by one strong grip of the shoul-der, and held him with one hand, while she lifted the other, and raising her snowy finger, shook it admonishingly at him, as she said, with a queer mixture of fun and solemnity—

"N-n-o-you—don't! I'm not Zoe, nor Louise.
My lips are not as common as a barber's chair!
Everybody has their pet pride. You are proud
of your military fame—of a name that will blaze down the centuries, illuminating the history of our country. Britannia is proud of hersetf—Brit-annia. Mrs. Armstrong is proud of her pride. I

also am proud.
"It must be of your incredible strength, my

"It must be of your incredible strength, my audicious beauty!"

"It is this—that my lips have never been stained by a falsehood or touched by a kiss!—no, never, even in my loving childhood; and that which made the sorrow of the child, makes the glory of the woman! There; I've made my speech; and now you'll understand, sir, that if in your exceeding great affectionaleness you were to deprive me of that glory—there'd be a row!"

And the amazon relaxed her hold, gathered up

And the amazon relaxed her hold, gathered up And the amazon relaxed her hold, gathered up her falling torrent of golden hair, and fastening it by running the blade of her hunting-knife through the knot, stepped back to let them pass to the brose. General Stuart-Gordon laughed heartily, as he drew the arm of Britannia through his own, and walked into the house. Louis followed the state of the state his own, and walked into the house. Louis followed, with Susan on one arm, and leading little Brighty by the other hand. Gertrude shook hands with the coashman, patted the horses' heads—talked to them—a good supper and a good rubbing down—and then sprung, with three bounds, into the house. The travellers had retired to their rooms, to change their dresses. Zoe, after having welcomed the party, had gone into the wainscoted parlor to await them.

This room was the very perfection of comfort. The dark and polished oak walls, the crimson carpet, curtains, and chair covers, and the blazing hickory fire, all imparted a glowing and genial warmth. The tea-table was set, and the wax candles on the mantel-piece shone down upon the dazzling white damask cloth and the glittering silver tea-service. Zoe was tripping about, re-

tea-service. Zoe was tripping about dishes from the waiter as he t them in, and arranging them on the table. At last, all was ready, and Zoe rung a peal of bells. Soon Britannia and Susan entered, looking charm-ingly in their first fall dresses—Susan in a dark slate-colored silk, and Britannia in a rich purple

Louis. Never was a more genial and cheerful and company assembled around a social tea-table in a comfortable parlor. Even Louis glanced and smiled, and talked—and the ghost of Mrs. Armstrong and her victim child was not suffered to intrude, for that one evening at least. "Now think of that dear little girl taking it

into her gentle heart to come over here to pre-pare for us, and welcome us home!" exclaimed the General, looking with affection at Zoe.

"How came you to think of it, darling?" in-

have things bright and nice, and give you a family welcome Besides, to tell you the truth, I was pining for a little extra housekeeping flourishes. I was dying to make jellies and cakes. Gertrude, though she hatee everything of the kind, indulges me in everything; so dear Gertrude came over here with me, to keep me in countenance."

The evening passed in gay conversation. Gertrude and Zoe had a million of questions to ask, and a million of items of neighborhood news to relate. Nevertheless, as the ladies were somewhat fatigued, they retired early. Then General Stuart-Gordon and Louis sent for the mailbag, which was emptied on the table between them. There were a number of business letters them. There were a number of business letters of various dates within the week past, but these were soon thrust aside, when one, directed in the hand of Mrs. Armstrong, to Louis Stuart-Gor-don, and bearing a black seal, caught their eyes Louis seized and tore this letter open with a trem-bing interest of the letter open with a trem-bing interest of the letter open with a trem-

RICHMOND, September 15, 18-Mr. Louis Stuart-Gordon: It becomes my painful duty to break the long silence maintained heretofore between us, by announcing to you the demise of your infant daughter, Margaret, who died of scarlet fever, after an illness of six days,

I presume any offers of condolence on my part would be a work of supererogation. You will not probably be inconsolable for the loss of a child, after whose welfare you have never once

"Never once inquired !" interrupted General Stuart-Gordon indignantly. "Why, was ever such a consummate piece of hypocrisy as that? when she knows she has received letters monthly, weekly. sometimes daily, from you. But I see! she is cautious not to commit herself. Go on Louis" Louis passed his hand once or twice over his brow,

and resumed the perusal of the letter.

The last tie that binds you to my unhappy child is thus cut in twain. You can now have no child is thus cut in twain. You can now have no excuse for retaining a claim upon the hand of one whose peace depends upon your freeing her. You surely cannot value the possession of one whom time, the question had been definitively and con-

"She notually wishes to make us believe that she has received none of our letters?" again in"to use 2 the Schools." "Rocker Lovie."

Louis finished the letter, the remainder being a said others, had so and down the Nav. consummate piece of eloquence, by which, without descending from her pride, she artfully appealed, now to his disinterested love, now to his
chivalric devotion, and all to one end—what she

statesmen totally to deny the power.

"Now, then, what do you intend to do, Louis?" "My daughter is gone!" Louis buried his this subject; what new event had happened to face in his hands for a few moments, and then disturb this well-settled opinion. It may possibly rising, said-" Yes, I will write to this poor sorrising, said—— res, I will write to this poor sor-rowing young mother! I will write to her, and ascertain if I can by any means promote her happiness"——and, excusing himself, he retired to his own apartment, where he spent the night to his own apartment, where he spent the night in writing a long, passionate, and eloquent letter to his wife, expressing his earnest sympathy, his deep affection, his infinite patience, his willing-ness still to wait, and hope for their future re-union—his resolution to renounce that hope if her peace of mind demanded the sacrifice. He closed by beseeching her to reflect deliberately, prayerfully, before she decided. This letter was mailed the next morning.

nailed the next morning.

The news of the death of the little girl was an-A month passed away—a month during which nothing more was heard of the Mont Crystal family. Then General Stuart-Gordon, accompanied by all his family and Miss Somerville, went to spend August and September at the sea shore. They returned to the lise of Rays about the middle of October.

Gorgeously beautiful was the lise of Rays in early autumn. The scarlet foliage of the cak, the golden leaves of the hickory, the rich purple hue of the dogwood tree, and the bright dark green of the pine and cedar, all growing tall from the Isle.

The news of the death of the little girl was announced the next morning after breakfast. It there agloom over the heretofore merry family that the only chance they had of carrying out that the only chance they had of carrying out their original design, was to deny the power of congress to pass such a law. They abandoned the position sanctioned by themselves, and by the position of sixty years, and boldly assumed force in the Territories, to which that provision does not extend. The master, therefore, who lake shis slave into free Territories, to which that provision of sixty years, and boldly assumed the power of congressity of the common law, if a slave estate, he is free. That principle of the common law, if a slave estate, he is the only chance they had of carrying out that the only chance they had of carrying out that the only chance they had of carrying out their original design, was to deny the power of congress to pass such a law. They abandoned the position sanctioned by themselves, and by the position sanctioned the position sanction of sixty years, and boldly assumed ha

"Yes, Louis, my happiness, my repose, depends upon your complying with the request contained in this letter.

LOUISE STUART-GORDON."

"It is done," exclaimed Louis, growing deadly Gordon. His case was so well known—had ex-cited so much general sympathy, that the divorce that had been indignantly refused to the petition of Louise, was at once granted to the app of Louis. The bill passed without a dis

the neighborhood was assembled there to spend the holydays. It was the day after Christmas, at night, that a large party were gathered together in the drawing-room, when Mr. Turner, the solicitor of Louis, was announced. Louis immediately retired with him to the library, where the solicitor had before him a copy of the actualsolving his marriage. Prepared as he had been
for this—the announcement!—the printed bill
before him—like the sight of the fabled Gorgon,
seemed turning him to stone. He gazed, without
reading, for the letters swam before him. All
had seemed unreal till now. He had seemed to had seemed unreal till now. He had seemed to have lived in a dream till now. Now the terrible, the strange reality, that Louise, his beloved wife. Louise, his own from infancy up, still loving, was nothing to him—swam in upon his brain with a force of conviction that again overpowered his delicate organization, and, with a heart-bursting groan, Louis fell forward upon his face. A long and severe spell of illness followed the events of this evening. Miss Somerville remained and nursed him. She alone, of all the family, possessed the power of soothing him. Even in his wildsed the power of soothing him. Even in his wild-est delirium, his frenzy was best controlled by the gentle voice and soft hand of Susan. He could not bear to miss that gentle sedative tone and touch. He would lie for hours quiet, with the hand of Susan on his brow; but if she left him for an hour, to take needful rest or food Louis would, with the thoughtlessness or selfish-

being on earth—to the one who loved him most strongly, purely, and disinterestedly, of all the world. How many spoiled children, old end young resemble Louis in that particular! With every effort Miss Somerville would make to return to the Crags, Louis would suffer a relapse Poor Susan! She was not his happiness—only his comforter; not his health—only his nurse; strong, and mistress of herself now. Her love was now so high and pure that she could have

WHALE-SHOOTING.—Captain Robert Brown, of the ship North Star, of New London, is about sailing on a whaling voyage, and intends to use his whaling guns in the business. Harpoons, with lines attached, are fired from these guns, and, so far as they have been tested, they have proved entirely successful. In a voyage of the ship Electra, Captain Brown took eleven right In taking polar whales, the guns were not re-quired, as they were very tame and easily cap-

HON. THADDEUS STEVENS, OF PENNSYLVANIA, THE CALIFORNIA QUESTION

House of Representatives, Night Session, June 10, 1860. Mr. CHAIRMAN: How far Congress can legislat

for the Territories, and admit new States into the Union, has been matter of grave discussion. The power to admit new States is expressly do not think, however, it is such usurpation as is to be treated as criminal; but may be either sanctioned or disallowed, as Congress may deem most conducive to the general welfare.

But it is contended, that although Congress clause conferred no diplomatic powers on Congress. Consequently, Congress could enter into no negotiation with foreign Powers; for that would be an act of diplomacy. The right to admit foreign independent nations into the Confederacy is nowhere given to Congress, either by direct grant or necessary implication. I do not begiven by the Constitution. But the extent of rect grant or necessary implication. I do not be-lieve it exists anywhere, except with the treaty-

Texas comes to subdivide her territory into States, and claim their admission into the Union, if that unfortunate event should ever happen. The right of Congress, and the extent of that right, to legislate for the Territories, has become a question of fierce discussion by the ablest minds of the nation. For sixty years and upwards, after the passage of the Ordinance of 1787 and the adoption of the Constitution, no one seriously adoption of the Constitution, no one seriously doubted the right of Congress to control the whole legislation of the Territories—to establish Territorial Governments; create courts; fix the tenure of the judges and other officers—in the tenure of the judges and other officers—in short, to exercise all acts of municipal as well as political legislation. For sixty years, all that au-

statesmen totally to deny the power.

Those who, half a century hence, shall be led to examine the archives of the nation, will naturally inquire what new light had been shed on disturb this well-settled opinion. It may possibly be found, that even in this free and enlightened Republic, men, statesmen and demagogues, were actuated by the same cupidity, lust of power and of office, which governed the people of the old and corrupt nations of the world. That an inde-pendent nation, without treaty and without warpendent nation, without treaty and without war-rant in the Constitution, by the mere act of Con-gress, was corruptly admitted into this Confede-racy for the avowed purpose of extending the dominion of slavery; and that California and New Mexico were acquired for the same object. But that it was found that Congress, unexpect-elly to the South, determined to exclude slavery from them; and had actually passed a bill for that purpose, through the House of Representa-tives; and it was lost in the Senate only for want

their support. Among the most prominent of the aspirants to that high office was a gentleman age of nearly three score years and ten. He was particularly versed in the Constitution and laws which regulate the Territories. He had grown up with them. He had filled several offices, and ong them the highest in Territorial Govern-nts established by Congress. He acknowledged the exclusive power of Congress over them, and its power to exclude slavery from them. He was prepared to vote for the Wilmot them. He was prepared to vote for the Wilmot Proviso, and expressed great regret that he was deprived of the opportunity, by a debate which was protracted to the end of the session of 1846. There seemed but little hope, that his judgment, thus matured, his opinion formed with care, and consolidated by the action of a long life, could ever be so changed as to entitle him to Southern support. But miracles have not ceased in the moral, whatever may be the case in the physical straight. world. Southern alchemy was applied; straight-way a shaking was seen among the dry bones, and he stood up, regenerated, illuminated, and trans-formed. The scales fell from his ancient eyes,

and he saw bright visions. He now denies Congress the least power over the Territories!
To vindicate, not his consistency, for that is hopeless, but his honesty, he has devoted thirty odd less, but his nonesty, he has devoted thirty odd mortal pages of a speech, to show the error in-dulged in for the last sixty years, by Congresses, by Presidents, by Supreme Courts, by constitu-tional writers, and by himself. I shall not attempt to follow his labored argu-ment, especially as very few of his Southern allies now endorse it. All, however, must feel

sincere regret that he changed his opinions under such peculiar circumstances. My opinion as to the extent of the power of Congress in legislating for the Territories differs somewhat from those who admit the general and

exclusive power.

The Supreme Court, the ultimate arbiter fixed by the People finally to decide all questions arising under the Constitution and laws of Congress, have, by repeated decisions, derived the exclusive power of Congress to legislate for the Territo-ries from the clause in the Constitution which says." The Congress shall have power to dispose of and make all needful rules and regulations respecting he Territory and other property of the

States."

I do not suppose that any branch of this Government is at liberty practically to disregard these decisions. It would be as improper in the President, Congress, or any other functionary of the Government, as it would be in an individual. In him it would be a misdemeanor. If it were now on open question, I should hesitate to rest it wholly on that part of the Constitution. There is much weight in the argument that "Terriory" is used in the singular number, and coupled with the phrase "or other property belonging to the the phrase "or other property belonging to the United States." It seems to have been intended to apply to a single Territory and the Government property therein. At the adoption of the Constitution, the United States owned but one Territory (the Northwestern.) Nor did the Conpower of Congress over the Territories, as the

The laws of such Power, however, do not spread over it until some express legislation. In the mean time, their own laws remain in full force.

extend to the Territories. Any slave escaping of the arguments; they have noticed them merely to vituperate their author. To such remarks

ments for themselves, until authorized by Congress, is irregular, and, as is justly argued by the gentleman from Virginia, [Mr. Seppon.] and other Southern gentlemen, mere usurpation. I When I want to combat with such opponents and do not think, however, it is such usurpation as such weapons, I can find them any day by entering

Congress can abolish, prohibit, or establish slavery in the Territories.

I can agree to neither of these propositions. In support of the first, it is argued that the pro-hibition of slavery would violate the provision of the Constitution which says that "The citizens of each State shall be entitled to all the privileges and immunities of citizens of the several States." I can see no force in the argument. This armaking power. This question will probably be seriously considered and finally decided, when ticle simply provides that the law shall not dis-criminate between citizens of the several States.

Now, a law which prohibits every person from holding slaves in the Territories does not discriminate, but grants to all equal "privileges" and "immunities."
But such law is said to be partial, because a But such law is said to be partial, because a portion of our citizens cannot take their property with them. This is not true in point of fact. Every man may take his property, conforming to the local law when he gets there. If any of them possess property which by the law of nature or of man would be worthless, of course he will leave it behind. A large capital, in Pennsylvania, is free, who choose, become slaves. If these gentlements and in the same to the slaves are cited where the slave after having tried freedom, had voluntarily returned to resume his yoke. Well, if this beso, let us give all a chance to enjoy this blessing. Let the slaves, who choose, go free; and the free, who choose, become slaves. If these gentlements are constituted between slaves and lamboring freemen, much to the advantage of the condition of slavery. Instances are cited where the slave after having tried freedom, had voluntarily returned to resume his yoke. Well, if this eso, let us give all a chance to enjoy this blessing. invested in stock, tools, and implements for smelting and manufacturing iron. If it turns out, as I believe is likely to be the fact, that most of our newly-acquired territory has neither coal nor iron ore, was right had the General Government.

erate on all, without regard to the quantity or cuts of those implements of happiness, handouffs, quality of their property, or the section from iron yokes, and cut-o'-nine-tails. whence they come?
But it is said that such a law would violate the

such property. It is a principle of the common law, quite as sacred as the doctrine of vested rights, that by the general law man is not the subject of property; that he can be held in bondage only by express local law; and that, wherever the slave is beyond the jurisdiction of such local law, no matter how he gets there, he is free. This has never been doubted since the celebrated decision by Lord Mansfield, in the case of the negro Summersett. Nor does it make any difference whether the slave jurisdiction and the free jurisdiction belong to the same or different

While it is thus found that Congress has the ight to prohibit and abolish slavery in the Ter-

of a free Government, except when expressions of the Constitut in the Constitution, which Congress cannot an nul or violate, because they are the foundation of

States, but by the National Government, and that the principles of State rights and legislation must be sought for in State documents.

This Bill of Rights of the American nation de This Bill of Rights of the American batton de-clares liberty to be an inalienable right. Nor does the Constitution give Congress any power to restrain or take away this right, except in the case of fugitives from labor into other States. The legislative power of the several States is control-led by similar principles. They have generally formed a Declaration or Bill of Rights of their

of Rights similar to the following, which are to be found in those of Massachusetts and New Hampshire: "All men are born free and equal, and have certain natural, essential, and inalienable rights; among which are the right of enjoying and defending their lives and liberties; and that of acquiring, possessing, and protecting property.

Those Constitutions nowhere prohibit their Le

Those Constitutions nowhere prohibit their Legislatures from establishing slavery, or violating vested rights. Yet I suppose that no sound statesman would contend that they could do either, because it would be inconsistent with the fundamental principles of their Government, as expressed in their Bill of Rights. It would, in my judgment, be equally preposterous to assert that Congress possessed such power, when the Bill of Rights of the nation declares liberty to be "inslienable."

I think it follows inevitably, that Congress may sholish or prohibit slavery wherever it has ex-

I think it follows inevitably, that Congress may abolish or prohibit slavery wherever it has exclusive jurisdiction, but can establish it nowhere. I should not have deemed it necessary to give any reasons now for such exclusion, had it not been lately repeatedly contended on this floor, and in the Senate, that slavery is a blessing. Northern gentlemen have here said that they do not view it with much horror; and my colleague from Luzerne [Mr. Butler, looks upon it as a religious or divine institution, if I rightly understood him. This seems to render it proper again to examine the character of the institution. This, I am aware, will bring down upon me all its am aware, will bring down upon me all its

When I ventured some time since to give my opinion freely of the real condition and evils of slavery, I expected to be assailed by the defenders of the institution. While that greatest, most honest, and most fearless, of modern statesmen, who was stricken down by death in this Hall, was, almost unaided, defending human rights, and denouncing the horrors of slavery, we saw him from year to year, the object of the bitterest him, from year to year, the object of the bitteres personal abuse in this House, and by the slave press everywhere. No motives were too foul to mpute to him; no crimes too strocious to charge

vision for the return of fugitive slaves does not attempted to deny one of the facts, or refute one extend to the Territories. Any slave escaping or being taken into New Mexico or California, would be instantly free. Hence, by the act of 1793, express provision for the subject was made with regard to the Territories which we then had. It follows that Congress alone has the exclusive power to legislate for the Territories; and that and to their worthy coadjutors, the gentlemen from Virginia, [Mr. Millson,] from North Carolina, [Mr. Stanley,] from Kentucky, [Mr. Stanley,] from Kentucky, [Mr. Stanley,] lina, [Mr. Stanly,] from Kentucky, [Mr. Stan-tos,] from Tennessee, [Mr. Williams,] and all that tribe. With them I can have no controversy.

sive to himself and all around him for a long time. Indeed, he is almost incapable of purification. Nothing, sir, no insult shall provoke me to crush filthy a beast!

Mr. Chairman, I crave your pardon for this improfitable digression. I trust I shall never gain be betrayed into a similar one, even to brush off these invading vermin.

When I turned off into this episode, I was dating that gentlemen on this floor, and in the Senate, had repeatedly, during this discussion, asserted that slavery was a moral, political, and personal blessing; that the slave was free from care, contented, happy, fat, and sleek. Comparisons have been instituted between slaves and lato which the Pennsylvania iron masters could We will not company it mey establish societies not take their property without rendering it in the South for that purpose—abolition societies worthless? The argument is quite as cogent, and more just, than that used by the slaveholder.

The only fair inquiry is, do the same laws opvery, even if they contain seductive pictures, and

If these Southern gentlemen and their Northern sycophants are sincere and correct, then I rights of the slaveholder, by depriving him of his property—his vested rights.

To divest him of property in slaves in free Territories, it must be first shown that he has nainly contributed to secure to a particular race the whole advantages of this blissful condition of slavery; and, at the same time, have imposed on the white race the cares, the troubles, the lean anxieties of freedom. This is a monopoly inconsistent with republican principles, and should be corrected. If it will save the Union, let these gentlemen introduce a "compromise," by which these races may change condition; by which the oppressed master may slide into that happy state where he can stretch his sleek limbs on the sun-ny ground without fear of deranging his toilet;

in any other. But I appeal to the learned men of this House, the gentleman from Alabama, [Mr. Hilliard,] from Massachusetts, [Mr. Mann.] ethnological researches of the past and present philology of tribes and nations of men—do not all corroborate the recorded fact that "He hath made of one blood all nations of men;" and that their present great variety in color, form, and intellect, is the effect of climate, habits, food, and education. Let not the white man therefore despair on account of the misfortune of his color. Homer in Declaration of Independence. Wherever those principles are not altered or overruled by express compact in the Constitution, they potentially control the action of the General Government. I admit that, in forming the organic law, they might have been repudiated. Some of them unfortunately were.

At first it was supposed that they controlled the State Governments also. It was decided by the judicial tribunals of some of the States, Massachusetts for one, that the Declaration of Independence abolished slavery without any legislative enactment. But it came to be more reasonably considered that the Declaration was not made by the States, but by the National Government, and a few short years of an immortal soul. Take your stand, therefore, courageously in the swamp, spade and mattock in hand, and uncovered, and half-naked, toil beneath the broiting sum. Go home to your hut at night, and sleep on the bare ground, and go forth in the morning unwashed to your daily labor, and a few short years of an immortal soul. Take your stand, therefore, courageously in the swamp, spade and mattock in hand, and uncovered, and half-naked, toil beneath the broiting sum. Go home to your hut at night, and sleep on the bare ground, and go forth in the morning unwashed to your daily labor, and a few short years of an immortal soul. Take your stand, therefore, courageously in the swamp, spade and mattock in hand, and uncovered, and half-naked, toil beneath the broiting sum. Go home to your hut at night, and sleep on the bare ground, and go forth in the morning unwashed to your daily labor, and a few short years of an immortal soul. Take your stand, therefore, courageously in the swamp, soul and uncovered, and half-naked, toil beneath the broiting sum. Go half-naked, toil beneath the broiting sum. Go home to your hut at night, and sleep on the bare ground, and go forth in the morning unwashed to your daily labor, and a few short years of a manufacture of the first plantal properties of an array soil your daily labor, and a few short years o

and sideways until they will assume the most de and sideways until they will assume the most de-lightful symmetry of slavery. Deprived of all education, out off from all ambitious aspirations, your mind would soon lose all foolish and per-plexing desires for freedom; and the whole man would be sunk into a most happy and con-tented indifference. And all these faculties, fea-tures, and color, would descend to your fortunate posterity; for no fact is better established than that the recidental or accounted condition of body posterity; for no fact is better established than that the accidental or acquired qualities of body and mind are transmissible, and become hereditary. True, your descendants will be black, stupid, and ugly. But they would only be so many incontestable evidences of their natural right and fitness for the enjoyment of this state of moral, political, and personal happiness!

Among others, numerous clergymen are found defending this institution, and praising its comforts and advantages. The same spirit which induced them to defend tyranny in the time of the Charleses, and the Jameses; to maintain the divine right of Kings; to inculcate the duty of passive obedience and non-resistance; and to anathematize those who resisted the tyranny of the "Lord's anointed"—prompts them now to take the side of the oppressor against the oppressed. They find the same kind of argument in the Scriptures to uphold slavery, that they then found to justify the despotism of profligate Kings. I shall not answer their absurd and blasphenous position. That has been effectually done by the honorable gentleman from Massachusetts, [Mr. Fowler.] But I will say that these reverend parasites do more to make infidels than Among others, numerous clergymen are found reverend parasites do more to make infidels than all the writings of Hume, Voltaire, and Paine all the writings of Hume, Voltaire, and Paine. If it were once shown that the Bible authorized, sanctioned, and enjoined human slavery, no good man would be a Christian. It contains no such horrible doctrine. But if it did, it would be conclusive evidence, to my mind, that it is a spurious imposition, and not the word of the God who is the Father of men, and no respecter of persons. I have before me a work by clergymen who maintain the above doctrine. They descant largely on the comforts of slavery. One of the heads of this pious discourse is, "Slavery is a beneficent institution!"

I know there are many degrees in the miseries

I know there are many degrees in the miserles I know there are many degrees in the miseries of slavery. Some masters treat their servants with great kindness; others more severely; others with merciless cruelty, according to their dispositions, for that alone governs their conduct. But, notwithstanding this diversity in suffering, he must have a callous heart who can speak of the

must have a callous heart who can speak of the beneficence of slavery.

Dante, by actual observation, makes hell consist of nine circles, the punishments of each increasing in intensity over the preceding. Those doomed to the first circle are much less afflicted than those in the ninth, where are tortured Lucifer and Judas Iscariot—and I trust, in the next edition, will be added, the Traitors to Liberty. But notwithstanding this difference in degree, all from the first circle to the ninth, inclusive, is hell—oruel; desointe, abhorred, horrible hell? from the first circle to the ninth, inclusive, it hell—cruel, desointe, abhorred, horrible hell if I might venture to make a suggestion, I would advise these reverend perverters of Scripture to devote their subtlety to what they have probably more interest in—to ascertaining and demonstrating (perhaps an accompanying map might be useful) the exact spot and location where the most comfort might be enjoyed—the coolect corner in the Lake that burns with fire and brimstone!

But not only by honorable gentlemen in this House, and right honorable gentlemen in the other, but throughout the country, the friends of there are represented as "transcendentalists